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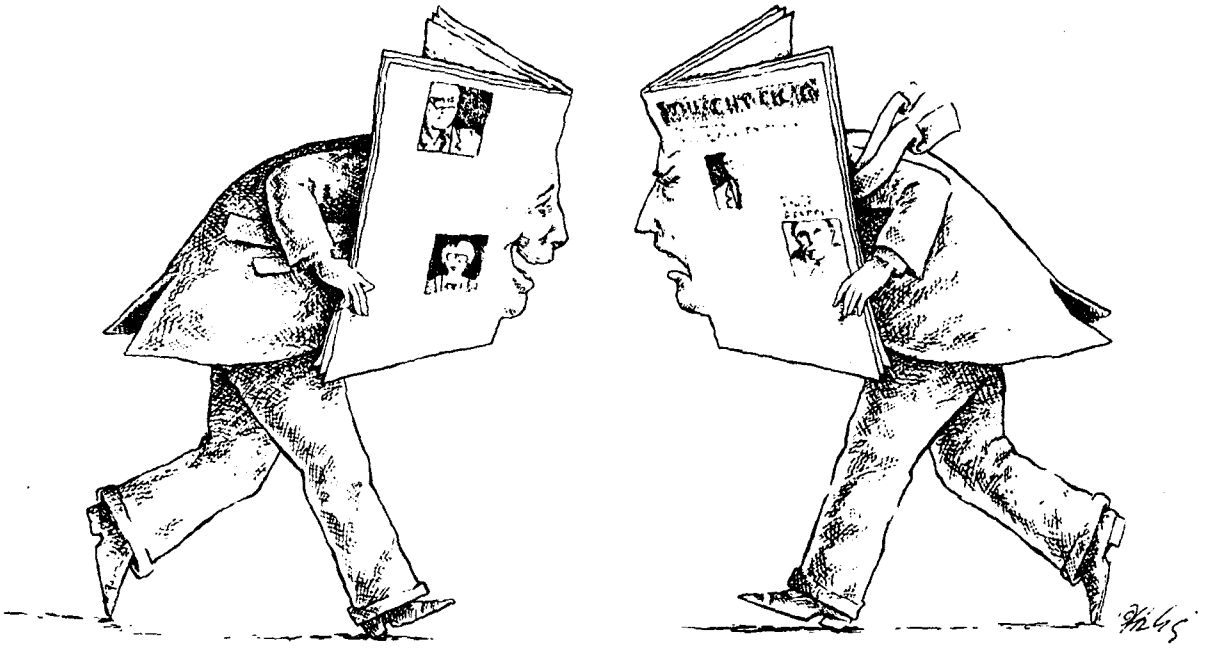
The Progressive Review



THE PENTAGON'S NON-DEFENSE BUDGET

Diem & Aquino

EDUCATION: LET THEM PLAY

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The Weather Report

Health

AIDS my be spreading from the nations of central Africa to the rest of the continent, suggests a new study done in Nairobi, Kenya.

Unlike in the U.S., where most AIDS cases are men, acquired immune deficiency syndrome strikes men and women in Africa in about equal numbers, and is generally confined to central African nations. However, the study, published in the February 13th issue of the *New England Journal of Medicine*, found that many prostitutes in the eastern African nation of Kenya are now infected with the AIDS virus. Research in Zaire and Rwanda found many prostitutes there were also infected. Doctor Joan Kreiss of Harborview Medical Center in Seattle, who directed the study, says there's circumstantial evidence that the women contracted the infections from men in countries where AIDS is common.

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Kenyan prostitutes haven't shown symptoms of aids yet, but the researchers suggest that's because of the disease's long incubation period, and suspect overt cases of aids will appear soon.

Says Kreiss, "The implications of an epidemic or AIDS in Kenya are sobering ... if prostitutes constitute a major reservoir of AIDS virus... it will continue to be spread throughout Africa by heterosexual men serving as vectors of infection from one community of urban prostitutes to another."

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The Federal Office of Management and Budget has, at least for the time being, derailed a long-planned study on video display terminals by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health.

NIOSH researchers planned to study about three thousand women of child-bearing age who work for three southern phone companies. Half the women were to be VDT operators and the other half non-users, so that researchers could compare the women's medical histories from 1983 on, and see if VDT use causes reproductive risks to women. NIOSH first announced plans for its study in late 1982, after reports began surfacing of "clusters" of abnormal pregnancies among VDT operators.

Now *The Guild Reporter*, the publication of the Newspaper Guild in Washington, reports the office of management and budget has squelched the study under the federal paperwork reduction act. The OMB also said the study contained "four major design flaws" -- including undersized population samples and "irrelevant questions" -- that would undermine the study's conclusions.

The OMB isn't the only one to raise concerns about the NIOSH study. An executive of Bellsouth Corporation, one of the companies whose employees were scheduled to take part in the study, wrote NIOSH a letter last fall, expressing his hopes that "the study design be sound." Admitting Bellsouth has "a

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large investment in such terminals," Roy Howard, director of industrial relations, added that NIOSH "is obligated to take the time needed to develop a protocol that will, in fact, allay public concern" about any reproductive damage caused by VDT's.

A New York study cited by the Center for Disease Control revealed that the average AIDS patient spends 167 days in a hospital as a cost of $147,000. The center says that the first 10,000 AIDS victims cost $1.4 billion. This figure almost equals the $1.6 billion annual hospital cost for lung cancer patients.

Treatment for the 300,000 future AIDS patients in the US could total $42 billion by 1990. Yet Congress has only allocated $238 million for AIDS research for the 1986 fiscal year. Congress did increase, by over $40 million, what the president had originally recommended, but this appropriation is little more than double what New York alone is estimated to be spending to care for AIDS patients during the current fiscal year. Further, the 1987 proposed AIDS research budget is $195 million, $43 million less than in 1986.

The American government's refusal to acknowledge the reality of AIDS is like a man who refuses to pay a debt he owes. The longer the man refuses to pay, the more the interest accumulates and the bigger the debt grows. — **Daniel McCann Duffy**

The sexes

A Gallup poll finds that the United States is split right down the middle on the Supreme Court's 1973 decision legalizing abortion.

The survey of some 1,570 people shows 45 percent for the decision, 45 percent against, and 10 percent with no opinion. This marks a small shift against the ruling since 1983, when the answers came out as 50 percent for, 43 percent against, and seven percent no opinion.

The survey also showed that college graduates are more than twice as likely to support the ruling than people with a grade school education, and that men's agreement with the court decision has fallen off by seven percent.

Housing

Without even waiting for Gramm-Rudman, the administration has done a pretty good job of gutting housing programs. Between 1981 and 1985, housing assistance funds were cut from $32 billion to $10 bilion. The National Low-Income Housing Coalition estimates that for every very low income family in subsidized housing, three others need it but can't get it. Writing in Washington DC's University Legal Services newsletter, Rashid Jelani points out that this means 7.5 million families needing, but not getting, subsidized housing.

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FBI RESUMES
DOMESTIC SPYING.

In a story that should have been, but wasn't, page one must, Jack Anderson and Dale Van Ata report that the FBI has been spying on peace activists again. Undercover informants were used, to infiltrate Physicians for Social Responsibility. After Angus Mackenzie of the Center for Investigative Reporting uncovered the story (using our old friend, the Freedom of Information Act), Rep. Don Edwards asked FBI director William Webster for an explanation. Webster said that "I am advised that in 1982 this organization was the subject of a national security investigation predicated upon information received from a source." Assistant FBI director William Baker told Mackenzyie that "The FI was interested ind etermining whether or not the phsycians' group was a Soviet front. But it was not. . . We won't continue to have assets in that group." But said a retired high level FBI official, such spying would probably continue: "The FBI would be remiss if we didn't periodically check on the KGB and the peace movement."

The media

The modesty of the Washington correspondent is legendary, but George Will set a new standard recently in a column from Phoenix which began:

"Bruce Babbitt, Arizona's governor, says that before he replaced his glasses wih contact lenses, people occasionally mistook him for George F. Will, the columnist. Babbitt, a handsome fellow, probably made the replacement because he is thinking of running for president."

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Both the Washington Post and the New York Times, in their coverage of Reagan's visit to Grenada, furthered the administration's disinformation that the Grenadan airport has been a Cuban project designed for military purposes. In fact, the construction of the airport had been planned for 25 years, was favorably regarded by the World Bank, and at least half the financing came from western governments, with the construction being underwritten by the British. The airport was being built to civilian, not military standards, and the contractor regarded it as unsuitable for military purposes. If the airport was a devious military scheme, American Express didn't know about it. A contemporaneous article in its Travel & Leisure magazine noted: "The much publicized, and badly needed, airport bein built (in Grenada) with Cuban — and Canadian — help will open in May. With it, Grenada hopes to attract airlines that can provide direct service from the US. Travellers now fly in via Barbados or Trinidad."

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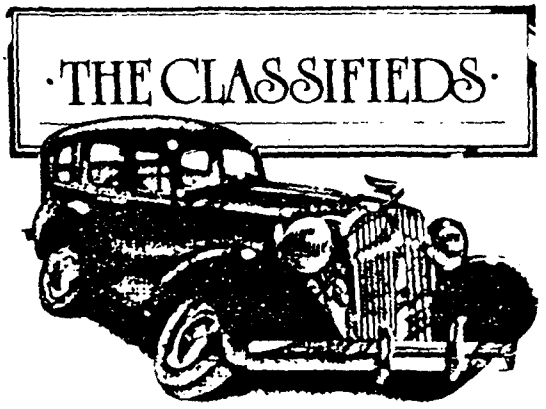

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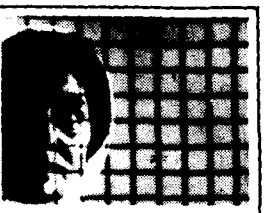
NUKE REAGAN bumperstickers. $1 and stamp. Box 152, Dearborn Heights, Mich 48127

GUIDE to FILMS on APARTHEID



An evaluative directory of 45 of the best films on apartheid, with a special section on the Southern African region. Includes tips on how to plan a successful program. Send $2.50 to **Media Network**, 208 W. 13th St., New York, NY 10011. Bulk prices available.

ALSO: Contact our ***computerized*** INFORMATION CENTER for help in finding films you need on any issue. **212-620-0877.**

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Last December, a government employee, Samuel Morrision, was convicted of espionage for leaking photographs of a Soviet nuclear aircraft carrier to the press. Given the rash of spy-for-cash stories that have occurred, the Morrison case did not get the attention it deserved, but as Anthony Lewis pointed out in the New York Times, if the conviction is upheld this will be the first time this country has had, in effect, an official secrets act. Mind you, Morrison did not give the photos to the Russians, but to the western media, apparently to alert it to an aspect of Soviet military capability.

While a number of writers have followed Lewis's lead and papers across the US have editorialized against the abuse of the espionage laws to suppress information, Nat Hentoff in the Village Voice makes the important point that none of the establishment media organizations, so quick to defend their own kind, have joined in appealing the Morrison conviction. Said one official of such an organization to Hentoff: "If you or I had been on trail for printing classified information there would be no problem of getting press support. But Morrison is not a journalist. He was a government employee leaking secret material." Said Hentoff: "Apart from the First Amendment, it's shabby business to enhance your career in journalism by taking exlusives from a leaker and then shutting the door in his face when he comes asking your help to fight a prison term for giving you the material in the first place."

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Neighborhoods

A task force lead by Joseph McNeely, president of the Development Training Institute, has proposed the establishment of a national neighborhood endowment. The endowment would receive a one-time federal grant to be matched by private and neighborhood funding. Says Steve Glaude, president of the National Association of Neighborhoods, "There are many corporations willing to support well thought-out efforts at neighborhood revitalization and development. Some corporations are comfortably contributing and participating at the local level, but many would welcome a national fund to which they could contribute without bearing the administrative costs of grantmaking."

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Unlike the national endowments for the arts and the humanities, neither of which a true endowment since they rely on annual federal appropriations, the neighborhood endowment would receive a grant over a period of years which would have to be matched by other contributions before it could be drawn from. Info: Joseph McNeeley (301-727-5161) or Bud Kanitz, National Neighborhood Coalition (202-628-9600).

Children

The Children's Defense Fund reports that health care for poor and minority mothers and their babies has taken a turn for the worse. Two decades of progress, says the fund, have ground to "a virtual halt." For example, in 1983 the death rate for new babies rose 3%— the largest increase in 18 years, and the first time since 1978 there has been any increase at all. Fund president Marian Wright Edelman says that such increases in mortality between one month and one year as "usually a reflection of enviromental conditions related to poverty, such as poor nutrition, inadequate housing and sanitary conditions and lack of basic health care." The fund also reports that the "widest desparity in more than four decades between the infant mortality rates of blacks and whites." Says Edelman: "I think it's shameful that a black infant in Chicago, Cleveland or Detroit was more likely to die in the first year of life than an infant born in Costa Rica."

Politics

April 30 is the deadline for applications for ADA's new Lowenstein Fellowships, which provide college students with experience working as interns in congressional offices. Info: Marge Sklencar (202-638-6447)

The Democratic Party has once again refused to lower its threshhold for presidential candidates to win delegates to a reasonable level. Although the party's national committee did lower the threshhold to 15% from the previous 20%, Jesse Jackson and others had argued that it should be ten percent at the most. A party official called the decision a "rational and expedient political judgement," although it is not clear what the party hopes to gain from excluding minority views from its deliberations. In a wonderful display of Reaganesque logic, the party's fairness commission's co-chair, Susan Estrich, said the high threshold was essential to the process of nomination by consensus.

Peace

The planned cross-country peace march organized by PRO-Peace, fell apart last month after organizers ran short of funds as the group reached the edge of the Mojave Desert on its way east from Los Angeles. PRO-Peace had raised and spent $4 million in the first stage of the march that attracted far fewer participants than anticipated. The march was plagued by fund-raising, insurance and other problems. A group of about 300 marchers said they were determined to continue the trek anyway.

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The Chicago city council has voted to declare the city a nuclear-weapon-free zone, the largest city in the nation to join the nuclear-free movement. The law calls for nuclear weapon-free zone signs to be posted on major routes into the city and prohibits the "design, production, deployment, launching, maintenance or storage of nuclear weapons or their component parts" within Chicago. Some 110 US cities and towns have passed similar

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ordinances. Churches have also begun declaring themselves nuclear-free zones. The Episcopalian St. John the Divine in New York City, for example, has joined the movement and replaced its civilian defense shelter with a peace symbol ... In another development within the nuclear-free movement, the Working Assets Money Fund, in cooperation with the State Street Bank of Boston, is offering a Visa card that will providing funding to peace, human rights and environmental groups. Five dollars of the initial membership fee will go to such groups as well as five cents for every purchase made with the card.

Civil liberties

The Supreme Court has affirmed without argument an appeals court ruling that an Indianapolis anti-pornography regulation was unconstitutional. The appeals court had called the Indianapolis legislation "thought control." The measure allowed any woman who claimed to have been harmed because of pornographic material to seek damages from firms that sell or display such material. The ruling is an important victory for civil rights groups that have opposed recent anti-pornography measures that would infringe upon free speech.

Justice

The number of state and federal prisoners has increased by 40% since 1980. There are now over 460,000 prisoners, 43% of whom are black and 19% hispanic. The largest prison incease has been in the west where inmate population is up 70%.

1986

Here are some of the questions from the lesson plan for the polygraph examiner training course at the military police school in Ft. McClellan, Alabama. The school was reponsible for training polygraph examiners for the federal govenrment —except for those at the CIA. The lesson plan was suspended last fall after the GAO pointed out that some of the questions did not exactly deal with security issues, towit:

- Have you ever thought of committing suicide?
- Have you ever resided with anyone other than your immediate family?
- Do you have any friends who live in a foreign country?
- Do you have any foreign pen pals?
- Do you owe anyone any money?
- Have you ever owed a bar bill?
- Are you a name dropper?
- Have you ever belonged to a group which supported any foreign activity?
- Have you ever received sexual simulation in a crowded area?
- Do you receive sexual satisfaction through means other than bodily contact?
- Do you have a normal sex life?

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The Reagan administration is considering the revival of the notorious security hearing boards which were used extensively during the McCarthy and post-McCarthy era to remove civilian employees for alleged breaches of national security.

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Last year, more than 25% of Fortune 500 companies required drug testing.

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Hoping to avoid more budget cuts, University of Nebraska officials last month censored a film that was to be shown on campus and pressured the student newspaper not to publish a photo of legislators sleeping during a budget committee meeting.

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The federal Advisory Board on Missing Children has urged state governments to require police checks of anyone working with children.

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Attorney General Edwin Meese claims that the government can legally require drug testing of its employees. The massive testing was suggested by the President's Commission on Organized Crime. Said Democratic Representative Charles Schumer "trying to stop organized crime's multimillion-dollar drug business by creating a police state in federal office buildings would be ineffective and would create one crime to stop another ... Does this mean we're shifting away from going after crime syndicate kingpins and instead beginning to harass the average civil servant because he or she is easier to find?" Rep. Patricia Shroeder said the idea would be the winner if there were a prize for "the most idiotic recommendation of a presidential commission." Meese denied that the testing would violate constitutional protections against unreasonable searches saying that "by definition it's not an unreasonable seizure" because it's something the employe consents to as a condition of employemnt."

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The Supreme Court has upheld random police blockades searching for drunken drivers.

Olof Palme

If there is something that can rightfully called the "free world," Olof Palme was one of its leaders. The ersatz claimants of the title did not care for Palme much; he refused to play their stupid and deathly games. Ronald Reagan's public reaction to Palme's murder was less than gracious; one sensed that the effort to sound sincere was stretching even this administration's seemingly limitless capacity for hypocracy. During the Vietnam War, which Palme opposed and during which his country provided haven for war resisters, Palme was co'nsidered by official Washington as an international Jane Fonda, slightly better than being an international terrorist but not much.

The problem was that if any sizable number of Americans paid attention to this quisling of the western world, the whole pack of cards could come tumbling down. In a sense it was even worse than being a Soviet hardliner who, after all, played the same game if for the other side.

But for those who were tired — or scared, of the game, Palme was a rare voice in power speaking on behalf of ordinary people. If Americans had been allowed by their media to know what he had tried to do for them, they would have mourned him as they mourned the Kennedys and King. With its memories of Gandhi, India knew what Olof Palme was about; it declared a day of national mourning after his death. Here, the president observed the occasion by pressing his demand for $100 million to help kill Nicaraguans. —s.s.

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GE Stockholders' Alliance

GE stockholders who are concerned about the staggering cost of nuclear power and the technology that may destroy the human environment are invited to join the GE Stockholders' Alliance Against Nuclear Power/Nuclear Weapons. Formed in 1980, the Stockholders' Alliance is pro-GE and open to all GE stockholders. The purpose of the alliance is to help minimize the liabilities inherent in much of GE's nuclear businesses, and to challenge the morality of GE's involvement in a technology that poisons the environment and has the potential to destroy all life on earth.

GE is a leading manufacturer--worldwide--of the boiling water-reactor, the design of which requires discharging rather than storing gaseous nuclear fission products that are continuously generated. GE is also a leading contractor with the Department of Defense, involved in research, development and production of nuclear weapons components and delivery systems (some of which are first strike weapons systems). Health researchers now attribute a number of health problems (such as higher immune deficiency and higher rates of infant mortality, congenital birth defects, death from cancer and heart disease) to nuclear radiation. No safe method has yet been proven for the permanent disposal of radioactive wastes which have been generated for over 40 years. The myth of nuclear deterrance has provided rationale for an arms race that is out of control.

Members of the Stockholders' Alliance are sponsors of four proposals on these nuclear issue that will be considered at the April 23 GE annual meeting at Kansas City, Missouri.

For information about Alliance membership or to obtain copies of the proposals, write to GE Stockholders' Alliance, P.O. Box 966, Columbia, MD 21044, or call Chair. Patricia T. Birnie at (301) 730-0178.

For filmmakers

New Day Films is seeking new films and filmmakers, particularly minority, handicapped, gay and lesbian filmmakers. New Day started in 1972 as a distribution cooperative of feminist filmmakers and then expanded to include films on a broad range of social issues. Interested filmmakers must be committed to self-distribution, have an ability to work cooperatively, and be willing to invest their own time and financial resources in the marketing of their film. Initial inquiries should be made immediately in writing to Kathy Kline, at 617 West End Ave., #9A, N.Y., N.Y., 10024. Completed applications are due by May 1, 1986.

Essay contest

The Council on International and Public Affairs has announced an essay contest on universal capital ownership with prizes of $5,000, $2,500, and $1,000. The prizes are being donated by Stuart M. Speiser, an international lawyer from New York and author of several books on universal capitalism, including the recently published USOP Handbook.

Essays may be of any length up to 5,000 words. They should address the topic:

> *Devise a plan for spreading ownership of America's productive assets broadly among the people, and reviving the economy, without confiscation or increased taxation.*

The deadline is December 31, 1986. A detailed announcement, entry form, and contest rules may be secured by sending a stamped self-addressed envelope to the USOP Essay Contest, Council on International and Public Affairs, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

Morton's boycott

The Campaign for a Nuclear Free America has started a national boycott of Morton Salt. Morton is made by Morton Thiokel, the folks who didn't

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want the shuttle to blast off, but who are less timid about their other contributions to rocketry — which includes rocket motors and solid fueld for the Midgetman, Minuteman, MX, Poseidon and Trident. It is also a prime contractor for anti-satellite weapons and Star Wars and gets almost half of its revenue from the Pentagon. As Morton CEO Charles Locke said last November: "We are part of the defense establishment and proud of it."

The Campaign for a Nuclear America points out that salt boycotts have an honorable provenance. Gandhi's Salt March inspired millions of Indians to rise up against British rule. In our own civil war, the north refused to buy salt mined by slave labor in the south. Morton is the largest salt producer in the world, with subsidiaries in 24 countries including South Africa.

There are, however, many alternatives including most major store brands (except Acme, A&P, Grand Union, IGA, Red 'n White, and Stop 'N Shop which are also made by Morton.

To find out more about the Morton boycott, contact Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th Street, Baltimore, Md. 21218. To let Morton know what you think you can write Charles Locke, Chairman, 110 N. Wacker, Chicago, Ill 60606 or call Morton Customer Service at 1-800-828-6702.

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Echoes of Vietnam?

FRANZ SCHURMANN

The ouster of President Ferdinand Marcos conjures up memories of the ouster of South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963. It also calls to mind the warnings of an old African parable.

One day as the frog had to make an urgent trip across the river, a scorpion pleaded for a ride across. "I'd be crazy to have anything to do with so venomous a creature as you," the frog blurted out. But the scorpion promised not to sting the frog, pointing out that it would only kill the scorpion as well, and the frog decided the scorpion's logic made sense. Then, at mid-stream, the scorpion suddenly stung the frog. As both were drowning, the frog gasped: "Why did you do it?" The scorpion responded, "I couldn't help it. It's my nature."

The Philippines are currently going through what may turn out to be the most significant political transition in their history. The United States is bringing its immense influence to bear to guide

President
CORAZON AQUINO

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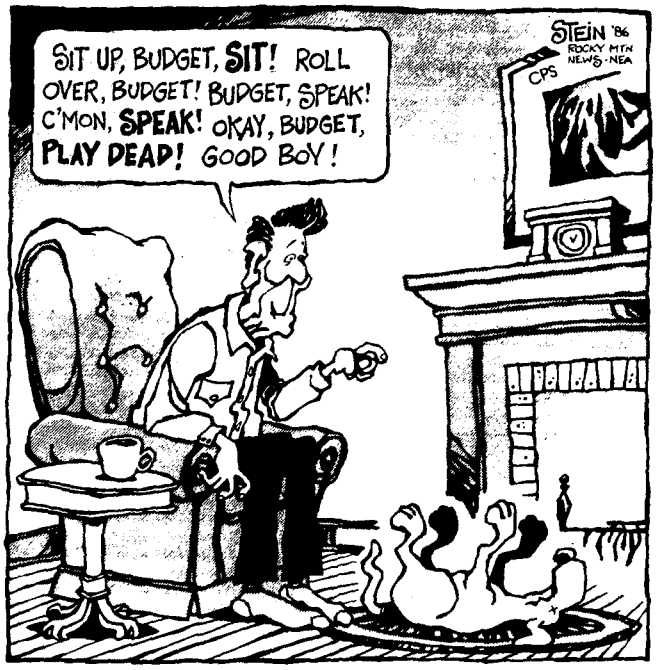

its former colony across to a better future. Yet the African parable suggests that the frog would have done best swimming across on its own.

Nevertheless, the deep-rooted urge on the part of so many American leaders to "help out a friend in need" has reappeared. A bipartisan consensus in Congress -- exceedingly rare in recent years -- clearly helped undermine Marcos' hold on power. With lots of U.S. money and advice, the new government of Cory Aquino, it is believed, can now save the Philippines from falling under the rule of the communist New Peoples Army (NPA).

Earlier views about South Vietnam's president Ngo Dinh Diem were strikingly similar. Like President Ferdinand Marcos, Diem was seen as dictatorial. He and his brother Nhu ran a countrywide corrupt political machine. Nhu's wife, popularly dubbed the "Dragon Lady" in the American press, reminds one of Marcos' wife Imelda. But most worrisome at the time was the sense that the South Vietnamese military was losing ground to a communist insurgency.

Pres. Kennedy, supported by most of Congress and the media, decided Diem had to go. He was overthrown and killed just two weeks before Kennedy himself was assassinated. Kennedy's successor, Lyndon Johnson, even before Kennedy was buried, ordered the U.S. to go in, reorganize the South Vietnamese armed forces, and win the war.

Instead, only a little more than a year later, South Vietnam was "going down the drain" and Johnson ordered full U.S. military intervention to save the country. The helping hand of a friend had turned into the sting of a scorpion.

Marcos too ran an entrenched political machine that covered much of the Philippines. His crony Gen. Fabian Ver ran an army that was more concerned with protecting that machine than protecting the people. As in South Vietnam, the communists gained strength from growing rural discontent.

In South Vietnam during the early 1960s, the urban middle classes also were the source of intense opposition to Diem. So too now in the Philippines. Just as the Catholic Church came to the forefront of opposition to Marcos, so in South Vietnam Buddhist monks spearheaded the drive against Diem. Diem was succeeded by a pro-American air force man, Nguyen Cao Ky (who now sells liquor in Orange County). He allowed the 16,000 U.S. advisers to fan out over South Vietnam and "professionalize" the armed forces.

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Probably the key political mistake of the U.S. was not to have seen that the overthrow of Diem also destroyed the only significant non-communist political force in the rural areas. For rural people, the new Ky regime and its American backers were just alien city folk.

The current Aquino movement is also overwhelmingly an urban middle class movement. Aquino herself has waffled on the issue of land reform. Even the radicalized priests and nuns are largely middle class, often from other countries. And the emerging core of younger officers whom U.S. advisers hope will become the core of professionalization also is largely middle class.

It is in our nature as the world's greatest middle-class nation to want to see middle class-type governments in power in other parts of the world. It was natural for the U.S. in 1963 to have forced a middle class-based government into power in South Vietnam.

But the key struggle was then in the rural areas. Therefore, what was natural for the U.S., unfortunately, turned into the sting of the scorpion.

The key struggle in the Philippines is still in the rural areas, and the fall of Marcos will almost certainly benefit the NPA. If, as in El Salvador, a future air war against NPA rural strongholds should drain the population, then the nature of the struggle will change.

But one thing seems almost certain for the Philippines: that the growing interventionist posture of the U.S.--backed by both liberals and conservatives -- will enhance rather than reduce the chances that the Philippines will someday share Vietnam's fate.

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You need a bigger budget to buy a copy of the federal budget these days. Back in the Eisenhower years, the complete document ran 1800 pages and cost only ten bucks in government bookstores. Jimmy Carter's budget was 300 pages longer and cost $24. The latest trillion-dollar budget runs 3200 pages and costs 71 bucks.

FLOTSAM & JETSAM

SAM SMITH

Let them play

School boards and legislatures from Texas to Washington, DC, have found another excuse for the educational difficulties of students under their care: extra-curricular activities. Faced with a problem, a legislature has essentially two choices: spend money on a program to do something about it or try to ban it. Given the current economic climate, the latter course is considerably more fiscally and politically attractive, and thus, despite all the talk about government dismounting our backs, we find government at every level discovering more and more things that we can not do.

In the case of the trend towards "no pass, no play," the implicit argument that football is the cause of poor learning can have greater appeal, and is certainly cheaper, than trying to figure out why our educational system produces a country in which, according to Jonathan Kozol, 60 million of its citizens have difficulty reading the warnings on a can of Draino.

Unfortunately, the argument is not only false, believing it is likely to produce an even further deterioration in educational quality, for those students who will be denied the benefits of extra-curricular activities are among the ones most in need of an imaginative, eclectic education of which such activities are an essential part.

This spring I graduate again from high school, this time vicariously, and one of the major lessons of this return trip through secondary school has been a deeper appreciation of the role that sports and other extra curricular activities play in education. In fact, I no longer think of them as extra-curricular at all — the category seems oddly discriminatory and, despite the skill with which academia bedizens its petty prejudices with the cloak of wisdom, it is anti-intellectual as well. To suggest that sports, drama, art, music, politics or community service are external to the curriculum of an educated person borders on Yahooism. Absent these elements education becomes a brutish parody of what it says it is: often a motley collection of facts without context, without integration with either one's own body and soul or with any human community.

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I suspect, in fact, that some of the less appealing characteristics ascribed to the stereotypical Yuppie are the result of a failure of this integration. Here is an individual curiously isolated from family, community, institutions, and his or her own past. Spontaneously generated, self-propelling, responsive primarily to the external stimuli of the marketplace or the media, this creature appears both bright and vacuous.

The roots, in part, may be found in an education that, at best, did not value extra-curricular activities highly enough to see them other than as the first in an endless series of performances separating the successful from the not so.

For, in truth, extra-curricular activities can be a bad form of education. Micro-Lombardis of high school football have perverted the learning of discipline, cooperation and effort into a tool of self-aggrandizement. Arts programs have modelled themselves on Hollywood or Broadway. And there are campus politicians, such as the new rightists at Dartmouth, who have mainly learned the worst that politics have to offer.

Of course, such problems are not addressed by "no pass, no play." But they reflect, in their own way, the fact that extra-curricular activities have been assigned to the slums of education instead of given the place they deserve as part of the basic curriculum. They are a part, an important part, of education. Students learn a lot, for good or evil, by participating in them — or by being denied participation.

If school activities were not so arbitrarily divided, if the relationship between what goes on in and out of the classroom was considered and respected, we might not find so many dichotomies. Academics might be enticed to face the issue, for example, of why schools teach the evils of totalitarianism in history classes and venerate it on the football field. Or why students in English class are made to read poets and novelists who lived and died in penury while encouraging 1980s show business values on the school stage.

Of course, "no pass, no play" is not new. I encountered it myself in college two weeks after I had been elected station manager of the campus radio station. I was informed that since I had also been selected for probation I was barred from any extra-curricular activities. Although I had to give up my administrative position, the invisible nature of radio permitted me, as with a good many of my similarly distressed colleagues, to continue full tilt on the air —under a pseudonym. I spent just as much time at the station, but I got my grades up as well. The main lesson I learned from no "pass, no play" was how to buck the system.

It was not a bad lesson, but it certainly was not the one that the academic community had intended, just as I suspect that the lessons learned from the current crop of "no pass, no play" laws will not be the ones intended.

Among the lessons that will be learned will be how society discriminates against those who not fit its mold — either because of ethnic background, economics, physical or mental idiosyncracies, or inclination. And since extra-curricular activities are too often used as early imprimateurs of success, the very student who is failing in the classroom will be forced to fail a second time — outside the classroom as well.

If one, on the other hand, views these activities as part of the core of education, then barring participation becomes as stupid and futile an act as banning students from English because they are flunking math.

Further, one begins to see the connections between these activities and the conventional academic subjects, connections that can be exploited to make both more valuable.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of extra-curricular activities is that they provide a rare course in applied knowledge. The student in the classroom is, in one sense, dealing at the most primitive level of knowledge, because the value of what one has learned is tested primarily against only one criterion: the judgement of the teacher. Despite the enormous utility of this, it is hardly a typical example of how knowledge is used in adult life. To take a simple case: consider a problem that you as a parent perceive at a school. Now think, truthfully, how you would describe and argue your feelings about that problem with the principal, a teacher, your child, another student, your spouse, a friend who has a student at that school, a friend who has a student at another school, a friend without children. The same knowledge you possess, the same feelings, must be translated in a variety of different ways to have either meaning or effect. It is in extra-curricular activities more than in the classroom that this sophisticated use of knowledge occurs.

Also in the classroom, knowledge is organized according to a curriculum and in this sense the term **extra-curricular** is quite right. For in the out-of-class activities, knowledge is acquired or transmitted much as in adult life — in a random, unorganized fashion that provides both excitement and frustration to that life. Learning to deal with this disorderly flow is an important part of becoming an educated adult.

Further, extra-curricular activities provide training in what some psychologists have come to call social intelligence, which can include

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not only understanding the information that words give us, but the enormous variety of non-verbal data available to us ranging from interpreting the mood of a group to comprehending the meaning of a turn of the lip. To train students to only understand words and printed symbols is to cheat their education.

For the parent, there is a special virtue of extra-curricular activities: they permit the parent to enter the school life of the student in a manner no academic course offers. The parent relies on report cards, an occasional term paper and teacher conferences for some feeling of the what happens in the classroom. If my experience is at all typical, further investigation into the academic environment tends to produce curt, glib or over-generalized responses. But with extra-curricular activities, the interest of the parent is actively sought, whole dinner-table discussions can actually occur, and feelings can be truly expressed. Thus the extra-curricular activity becomes a rare experience that both parent and student can share, especially at a time when words on other subjects may be so hard to come by. To a school administration this virtue may not seem a high priority; to parents, and even students, it can be priceless.

Further, I think many parents presume a broader and less rigid limit to education than some educators do — certainly more so than do many school boards and system administrators. Parents often define education in a non-curricular way — blending academic, social and cultural goals and values. It may sound vague to a professional but it is really only an amateur's holistic vision. And it is a form of fraud for professional educators to suggest that these goals can be met without the aid of extra-curricular activities.

My own experience of late has been with the activities of drama and sports. I have found in them advantages that are either absent or weak in my childrens' classroom learning or which have supplemented or strengthened what has occurred in the classroom; advantages that have led me to regard these activities not just as a source of sharing or pride, but as evidence that my sons' schools are doing what they claim. As in the classroom, not always has the the lesson been learned, or learned well, but at least it has been taught.

In sports my sons have learned to work in a group, to cooperate, and to understand and value their peers for a variety of reasons. In some cases this appreciation may come from their peers' skill, in other cases their determination, helpfulness, or supportiveness. They have learned that in real life the penalty for failure of effort may not merely be a bad grade and annoyed parents and teachers, but the disappointment of a whole group whose respect and friendship you seek.

While learning to try harder, they have simultaneous learned how to fail. I watch my sons' teams go down to defeat and think back to Little League years when a bad loss could cast a pall on the house for a whole day. No longer. They have also learned that success may not be an individual triumph at all, but a joint mystery, as with a soccer team that won its league championship not because it was blessed with stars but because this highly individualistic group of players developed a remarkable ability to make each other do better than they normally would and to become one for a common goal. It was more than a championship; it was a priceless lesson in the power of a community to raise itself up collectively.

Sports also teach the importance of concentration; they require the absorption and use of a wealth of small data under extreme stress and time limits. They teach respect and understanding of the human body. And at a critical time of learning about one's self, they can provide a confidence that may not be so easy to come by in other arenas.

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Drama, like sports, requires a concentration equal to anything in the classroom. Like sports, functioning within a group is critical. Like sports, the lessons learned are not only applicable to traditional academic courses, but to becoming an educated adult.

One of these lessons is the ability to memorize. It is remarkable that, given the repeated need to memorize in school, so little time is spent developing the skill. One of the few places in school where one can learn how to memorize is during the production of a play.

Further, good drama teachers introduce their students to the more sophisticated forms of character analysis that one would find in professional theatre schools. One of my sons was given an exercise that involved figuring out what the characters were really thinking while they were saying their written lines. This sort of study not only produces better actors and actresses but better English students. Once you have seriously acted a part in a play, whole new understandings await in your reading of other literature.

Drama also requires a level of perfection that can only come after one understands the importance of failing, over and over again, until you get it right. Even the brightest student, used to skimming material and spewing out the correct answer, can be brought to earth by this requirement. A good drama

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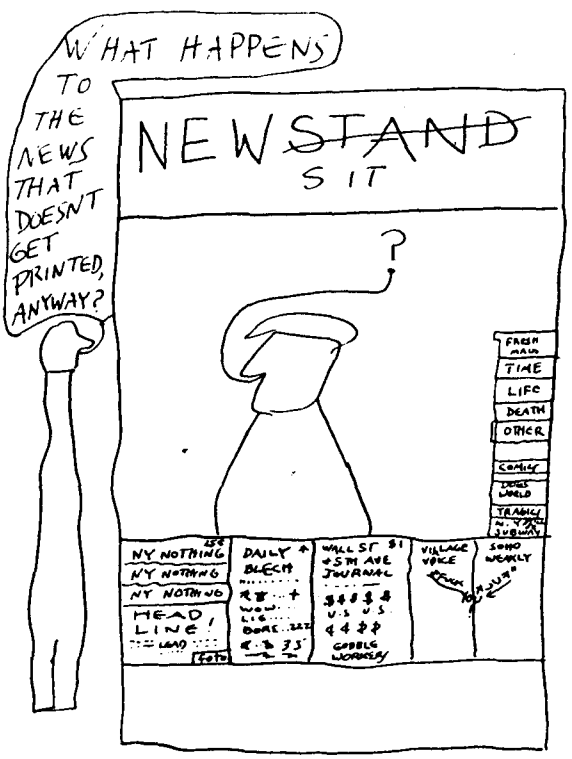
teacher will make even the best try to be better.

Finally, drama encourages the development of self-confidence at an especially timely moment. For both psychological and practical reasons, being able to "perform" may be one of the most useful things one learns in school.

Of course extra-curricular activities can be abused by both students and school. But often this is because of a tendency to use them as a form of star-shopping, a tendency that "no pass, no play" only accentuates. If one is conscious of the danger, however, it is not hard to avoid. At my high school, there was not one spring play but a whole series of them. Every senior who wanted a significant part in a play got one, indeed was urged to take one. Every year, there would be surprises, as someone not considered a "drama type" turned in an especially good performance. I think many of us who were not "drama types" are glad today that someone pushed us into trying it at least once.

As I await another high school graduation, I think back of the teachers who were the real influences of the last twelve years. And the names that come to mind include, far out of proportion, coaches and drama and music teachers. I can't conceive of those 12 years without them, nor without them would I have considered that my son had received a decent education. That school boards around the country think otherwise, discourages and angers me. They are not raising educational standards, but lowering them by removing a part of what should be the basic curriculum of any student whatever their grade in math or English.



Some thoughts on journalism collated by Tuli in his new collection of cartoons, 'In the Media's Feces,' available, we think, for $1 from Vanity Press, 160 6th Ave, NYC NY 10013:

A journalist is a man who has missed his calling.
Bismarck

A newspaper consists of just the same number of words, whether there be any news in it or not.
Henry Fielding

Assistant Editor: a mouse learning to be a rat.

Editor: a person employed on a newspaper, whose business it is to separate the wheat from the chaff, and to see to it that the chaff is printed.
Elbert Hubbard

In America you can say anything you want—as long as it doesn't have any effect.
Paul Goodman

Journalism: a profession whose business is to explain to others what it really does not understand.
Lord Northcliffe

Journalism consists in buying white paper at two cents a pound and selling it at ten cents a pound.
Charles A. Dana

News: same thing happening every day—only to different people.

Newspapers are unable, seemingly, to discriminate between a bicycle accident and the collapse of civilization.
G.B. Shaw

Remember this: Many a good story has been ruined by over-verification.
James Gordon Bennett

You cannot hope to bribe or twist
Thank God! the British journalist.
But seeing what the man will do
Unbribed, there's no occasion to.
Humbert Wolfe

You know this and I know it, and what folly is this to be toasting an "independent press." We are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are the jumping-jacks; they pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities and our lives are the property of other men. We are intellectual prostitutes.
John Swinton

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Campuses lean on big Star Wars bucks

Universities, enjoying a new infusion of research money for Star Wars research, now rely on the Pentagon at a level not seen since the height of the Vietnam War, a private study reports.

The Department of Defense, once again the sugar daddy of university graduate programs, increased funding for academic research to $930 million in 1985, compared to $495 million in 1980, an 89 percent increase, the Council on Economic Priorities reports.

The council traces much of the money to the Strategic Defense Initiative, the so-called Star Wars program.

"We're concerned about SDI research, that it's accelerating a growing dependency on the Pentagon," says Leslie Gottlieb, spokeswoman for the council.

"Half of the federal dollars for math and computer sciences now comes from the Department of Defense," she says, "as well as 82 percent of astronautical funds and 56 percent of electrical engineering's."

The Council on Economic Priorities monitors national security, the environment and corporate social behavior.

Receiving the bulk of the Pentagon's favors in 1985 were Massachusetts Institute of Technology (including its off-campus facility, Lincoln Labs) with $59,686,000. The University of Texas-Austin received $5,672,000; Georgia Tech Research Co. (Georgia Institute of Technology's off-campus lab), $5,586,000; Johns Hopkins University, $2,894,000; and Stanford Research Labs, $2,655,000.

"Here at MIT, plans are already underway toward transferring more research people to SDI programs," says MIT physicist Vera Kistiakowsky. "And at the same time, non-military sources are decreasing."

If MIT puts all its eggs in the Pentagon basket, Kistiakowsky fears subsequent cutbacks in SDI funding would leave the school overstocked with Star Wars specialists who have no conventional programs to research.

"It will be like the early seventies, when we had record unemployment among scientists," she says, "I'm not, nor is anyone, saying 'stop all research.' But this massive funding is too much in too-narrow areas. It's distorting the national research balance."

On the other hand, "SDI funds may be our safest bet, " Georgia Tech research Bob Cassanova says. "It's my understanding that SDI will be exempt this year [from budget cuts]."

Star Wars funding is protected from the first round of the automatic federal budget-balancing cuts mandated by the Gramm-Rudman law. But programs may be vulnerable to the across-the-board cuts in 1987.

Most SDI research at Georgia Tech has been "incrementally funded," Cassanova notes, meaning the Department of Defense can increase, decrease or shift research funds according to its changing needs, thus avoiding long-term commitments to the school.

Despite such uncertainty, Dr. William Rhodes, an electrical engineer at Georgia Tech, says his department already has increased recruiting for SDI-related research. Rhodes conducts research in optical computing for SDI.

"I'm sure [federal budget] cuts could affect us," he says. "We could be overextended fairly easily."

Rhodes estimates SDI funding now accounts for five percent of Georgia Tech's electrical engineering budget. – *CPS*

British bobbies have launched a cleanup campaign against kids seeking thrills in laundromats. The latest fad for youngsters is to climb into a dryer and see how long they can spin. Police warn the craze is a "potential killer." They've started laundromat patrols to scrub the fad before someone is hurt.

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The State Department has sent a message to the American wives of Libyans, telling them they must apply to the government for an exemption from presidential orders if they plan to stay in Libya with their families and engage in any form of commerce. Commerce, according to the State Department telex, includes "buying groceries." Because of worsening relations between the US and Libya, President Reagan ordered all US citizens and residents to leave that nation.

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Local exchange trading systems

MICHAEL LINTON developed LETS which is a computerized (although it can be done without a computer, too) economic network utilizing an expanded barter system and "green" dollars to allow members to essentially manage their own money supply regardless of inflation, unemployment, underemployment or any of the other things that effect our federal (and personal) budgets. It is based on the skills of its members, which always exist, regardless of their present economic situation.

Basically LETS is an information system that resembles a bank. Members' accounts are handled very similarly to a bank account — they receive monthly statements of their transactions and what their balance, either a credit or debit situation, is. The information is the goods and services offered by the members — for a price in "green" dollars — to other members. "Green" dollars can only be used among members. Print-outs of needs and services are sent to members as well so they know what is currently available.

Here is an example of how lets works on a practical level. (Reprinted from LETS information packet). "Joe cuts firewood. Peter is a welder and he wants wood but has no money. Joe doesn't want any welding. That's usually where it stops. However, if Joe and Peter are members of the LETsystem, then Joe delivers the wood and Peter picks up the phone. He dials the LETsystem office and says — "Hi, this is Peter, No. 48, please acknowledge Joe, No. 83, $75 for firewood." Joe's account balance increases and Peter's decreased by $75. In turn Joe employs the carpenter, the carpenter has a haircut, gets some clothes made, buys food from the farmer. The farmer now has a way to pay for a welder, so Peter gets to work again. And so it goes. The unit of exchange, the green dollar, remains where it is generated, providing a continually available source of liquidity. The ultimate resource of the community, the productive time of its members, need never be limited by lack of money."

For businesses that trade within LETS, the procedure is similar. All or any part of the cost of goods or services can be in green dollars with the balance paid in federal dollars. It is up to the merchant and the customer to come up with an equitable arrangement.

Michael hopes to be able to work with the local, province (or state) and federal governments to allow taxes to be paid in green dollars as well. This would mean that the government would have an account in LETS and could get needed services from members in exchange for the tax money. However, this isn't happening yet and since all successful barters must be reported as income it is suggested that members pay that part of a transaction which is roughly equivalent to the amount of taxes in federal dollars.

The exciting thing about LETS is that it is more than just an idea. It is a real, live functioning alternative economic system being used today in Comox Valley, BC for two years! (There are also several LETS programs being initiated in Canada and even the US.) In Comox Valley LETS is incorporated as a non-profit trust and requires less than an hour a day to administer. It took more time, of course, to set up and get the bugs out at first. The computer used is an IMS 8000 with 64K memory and two 500K disk drives. A telephone answering machine is used to record members' transactions which are entered into the computer daily. Costs are charged in green dollars, to members' accounts according to use. At the present time they are $1 for the monthly mailing of transactions, 45¢ per recorded transaction and 20¢ per line per month of information listed (services/products offered and needed).

One of the most frequently asked questions concerning the practical operation of a successful LETsystem is, "What about a person who spends heavily in the system and then is unable, or declines, to repay?" Since this situation happens all the time with businesses it is natural to assume that it would happen within LETS as well. However, in the LETS program currently in existence, this has not been a problem. There are several reasons Michael gives as to why this is true. One of the most important is that a debt is considered a commitment to the community of members. It is not owed to one particular member. In Comox Valley's LETS the members know each other well and trust has developed. If there is a member who is new and doesn't know the others, a credit statement of the person with whom the new member wishes to trade is made available on request. Also, the person who performed a service (whose account is now in credit) is able to trade (spend green dollars) with any other members. The more members there are, the greater the choice available. Michael feels the size should range from 50-200 members although LETS could work with a larger or smaller group, perhaps not as efficiently. Also an inability to pay a debt in the cash economy is often the result of not having enough money, not the lack of desire to pay. In LETS this is not an issue. Since green dollars never leave the community (as federal dollars often do) they are always there to be re-earned.

Michael is doing a lot of travelling, spreading the word about LETS, the concept and how it works. He is also seeking small loans and or tax-deductible contributions to help initiate new LETsystems and continue the work. He is a dynamic, intelligent man who is dedicated to creating an economic system that is based on human values and needs, rather than greed and fear.

If you would like more information on LETS, contact Michael at the address given below. If you're interested in starting a similar program in your community there are three information options available. 1) LETsystem Information which contains about 40 pages outlining various aspects of LETS, including theory and applications, set-up policies and cost, administrative directions, publicity materials, basic constitutional suggestions, the outline of recommended computer system and instructions for LETSPLAY, a simple game giving a workshop demonstration of an elementary LETsystem — cost is $12. 2) LETsystem Communication which includes all of the above available on floppy disk. Subscribers to this program may add material to the datafile and receive updates when available — $20; 3) LETsystem Network — in addition to all of the above, a software system is offered which uses DBASEII and will continue to be expanded and updated as required. LETsystems initiated through this process will be entitled to open an account in LETSYSTEMS EXCHANGE, a facility for exchange of value between communities — $100. Don't hesitate to call or write Michael if you have questions.

Michael Linton, Landsman Associates
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— **Susan Meeker-Lowry**
Editor, *GOOD MONEY*
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—Green Revolution

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The Reagan File

Here's a Reagan quote to save for future reference. Speaking of Senator Paul Laxalt, Reagan said: "He is truly a man for all seasons. He's our friend, our good friend." And he added that Laxalt is "one of the foremost Americans of our time, or of any time."

Fred Hiatt of the Washington Post provides a charming view of the triumphs of what Reagan once referred to as his "unprecedented" and "farsighted" Carribbean Basin Initiative. According to Hiatt, in the two years of the initiative the value of US imports CBI countries has actually declined by 23% and the imports from the rest of the world have increased by 36%. Says Hiatt: "Many nations in the region are worse off than when Reagan presented his plan."

Edwin Meese, you will recall, offered the thought to the US News & World Report that "if a persons is innocent of a crime, then he is not a suspect." Subsequently, Meese said in a TV interview that "I was misquoted. The intent of what I said was improperly portrayed." The trouble is that the US News & World Report not only tape recorded the interview but allowed Meese to review the transcript. Then to further elucidate the matter, Meese spokesman Terry Eastland said: "I think what he means there is the recycling of that quote as if that's what he means, taking it out of context as if that's his full view on the subject." Better send over the polygraph. And while you're at it, check his urine.

As the Reagan administration was proposing a budget that cut funds for the disabled, Nancy Reagan gave a party at the White House for handicapped children. Republican Senator Lowell Weicker said that "hypocrisy is not a strong enough word" for the party.

When a top official of the President's Commission on organized Crime arrived at a House subcommittee to testify, chair Rep. Gary Ackerman (D-NY) was ready for him. Holding up a small plastic jar he said that "a specimen is worth 1000 oaths" and asked commission deputy director Rodney Smith to go to the men's room and provide a urine sample under the direct supervision of a staff member. Ackerman said he had a lab that would test the sample. Smith refused and Ackerman said, "I thank you for very eloquently proving the point that we have set out to prove." Later Ackerman said that "Experts tell me that a person can register positive for opium after eating poppy seed rolls."

Quotes to remember: "With the vote on contra aid, the Democratic Party will reveal whether it stands with Ronald Reagan and the resistance — or Daniel Ortega and the Communists." — Pat Buchanan ... And George Bush, five years ago praised Ferdinand Marcos for his "adherence to democratic principles."

It's hard to keep up with all the dubious Reagan judicial nominations but here are a few to keep in mind. Court of Claims nominee Eric Bruggin, served on an Alabama school

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textbook selection committee and supported banning such books as The Diary of Anne Frank ("most depressing"), The Doll's House ("radical feminism"), F. Scott Fitzgerald ("undermined parental authority"), not to mention works by James Baldwin, Wallace Stevens and Thomas Wolfe ... Federal judge nominee Jefferson B. Sessions III, according to sworn testimony, called the NAACP and the ACLU "un-American" and "communist-inspired" groups that "force civil rights down the throats of people."

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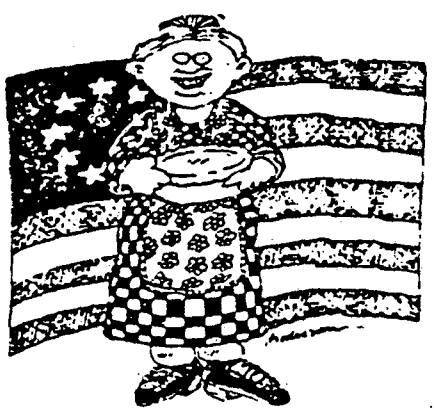
Colman McCarthy points out that the new 12-member board of the so-called US Institute for Peace includes the following: an official of the Heritage Foundation, an official of the Hoover Institution, the husband of Jeane Kirkpatrick who has written works on such subjects as communist propaganda activities, a former CIA official who was editor of a book on why the ABM makes sense, Richard Perle, Max Kampelman, Kenneth Adelman and Gen Richard Lawrence of the National Defense University. Says McCarthy: "As the peace institute legislation worked its way through Congress for 21 years, people who said it would end up a meaningless farce were labelled cynics. Sign after sign appeared — from weakening amendments to the demand that the secretary of defense be on the board — that the cynics were not that at all ... The public is well-served by one provision in the bill. After two years, Congress can kill the institute. It should. the question for now is, where was Grammn-Rudman when we needed it."



Apple Pie

From millions of miles away in space, the world probably looks a lot like it did the last time Halley's Comet whizzed by. But the United States has changed a lot since 1910. For one thing, there are more than twice as many Americans. And there's another big change. 75 years ago, men outnumbered women. Now, it's the other way around, with six-and-a-half-million more women than men. In 1910, the average age was 24. Today, it's 31. Other changes: half the nation's post offices have been shut down since Halley's last visit, the divorce rate has tripled, there are millions fewer farms and 900 fewer daily newspapers.

Back in 1978, publisher Lyle Stuart filed a freedom-of-information request, asking to see what the CIA had on him in its files. In February, he finally got a letter back, saying the spy agency is "still processing the request." A spokesman for the agency admits eight years is a pretty long time to wait, but says there's a "terrible backlog" of requests for dossier information. And he says Stuart has a big file--as a supporter of Fidel Castro and a longtime critic of US undercover activities.

A Purdue University study of CEO's found 60 percent hadn't taken a vacation in the last three years. Most had also not read a book for pleasure or attended a cultural event in the past 12 months.

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Sending in the clowns

When Philadelphia was in the midst of 69 years of Republican rule, they used to describe it as corrupt and contented. It's a term that's beginning to fit DC as the city finds itself with the most corrupt city administration since the days of Boss Shepherd and seems hardly bothered by it at all. The mayor's ex-wife, ex-girlfriend, ex-buddy and deputy mayor all go to jail, a current deputy mayor is under investigation and resigns, death certificates are fiddled with, contracts are routinely handed out to political cronies, the federal government finds a $1.6 million descrepancy in a low income housing account, a key witness in one scandal ends up in hiding in the federal protective custody program and everyone acts as though it's just business as usual.

To be sure, DC still isn't up to the past or present sophisticated corruption of such cities as Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and New York but for a town that didn't even have an elected government slightly more than a decade ago, it is learning awfully fast.

One of the things the rest of us can learn from the experiences of these other cities is that corruption doesn't flourish just because of the venality of a few public officials. It flourishes in no small part because of its acceptance by a large number of honest and upright people who may not approve of what is going on but who come to treat it as a normal part of doing business. As long as they are not the ones giving bribes, embezzling public funds, or cheating the public trust in other ways, they can carry out their relationships with the city government as though nothing were amiss.

Besides they need the job, they need the appointment, they need the contract, they need the mayor's support, they need to repay the mayor for past favors.

Thus it was recently that five thousand righteous and decent citizens of the city gathered to pay homage to the mayor on his birthday. You asked some of them; they told you that was why they were there. They were the good burghers of Washington: doctors, lawyers, community activists, real estate developers, ministers, gay leaders, progressive councilmembers, statehood people, concerned, honest and fine citizens.

There was a jazz band, a Brazilian samba group, clowns, jugglers and stilt walkers. It was estimated to cost $100,000 which will not be reported as a campaign expenditure since the Office of Campaign Finance says it was not a political event.

As federal investigators combed through city records and interviewed witnesses, as years of political sleaze slowly unravelled in the public prints, Marion Barry brought in the clowns and 5000 good citizens paid money to say thank you.

Some of these citizens were there because they thought their presence might help a good cause. Some of them were there as victims of a sort of political graymail, the heavy-handed enforcement of quid pro quo at which Barry is so adept. Some of them were there because because the one part of government in which they were mainly interested had done something right.

All good or practical reasons and

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yet, in aggregate, they unintentionally contribute to the impression that this town sanctions the behavior of the Barry administration, that it buys the Barry line of personal non-accountability for what goes on in his administration, that deep corruption, extending even to stealing money budgeted for the poor, is acceptable as part of our newly won home-rule.

And it is this impression, as much as the individual sins of government officials, that encourages further corruption and, worse, a corruption of the city's spirit. The Barry administration has soiled the reputation of the city and has hurt our drive for further self-government. There may be little we can do about this at the present, but at the very least, those who would wish otherwise must try not to cheer when the mayor sends in the clowns.

DC REPORT CARD

Here's our scorecard on the city council and the mayor. Generally we give two points plus or minus for a vote or mayoral action and one point for other public positions or actions taken or for a bill introduced. On especially important votes we give or take four points. Listed are the 1985-86 grades and percentile scores. We grade on a curve to make it a bit easier for our politicians. Here are this month's issues:

#1 Most Democratic members of the council agreed to serve as honorary patrons for the mayor's so-called non-political birthday party. They lose one point. Members Kane and Wilson gain a point for not joining in the fun. (See article this issue)

#2 The sponsors of a tax amnesty bill gain a point for introducing it. It's only a one-shot deal but it could help the city through the year.

#3 The mayor gets two points for his housing leaseback program we mentioned last issue.

	#1	#2	#3	#7	'85-86 %	'85-86 GRADE
CLARKE	-1			2	100%	A+
MASON	-1	1		2	100%	A+
WILSON	1	1		2	86%	A-
SHACKLETON	-1			2	76%	B+
NOLAN	-1			2	76%	B+
SMITH	-1			3	70%	B
WINTER	-1			2	27%	D
JARVIS	-1			2	22%	D-
SCHWARTZ				2	22%	F
KANE	1			1	19%	F
BARRY			2	-2	19%	F
CRAWFORD	-1	1		1	16%	F
[illegible]	-1			3	11%	F
SPAULDING	-1			2	0%	F

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Dealing with the INS

Eric Glitzenstein

Eric Glitzenstein, a lawyer with the Public Citizen Litigation Group, recently volunteered to handle an ACLU Political Asylum Project case. After a long and frustrating series of delays, he won one of the Asylum Project's biggest victories to date. The following is a description of his trials before INS and the Immigration Court.

As Congress undertakes sweeping reform of the nation's immigration laws, and we grapple with the intractable problems posed by illegal immigration, we tend to lose sight of what it is really like to be an unwanted visitor in this country. As an attorney who agreed to represent a Salvadoran refugee seeking asylum here, I recently got a glimpse of how the Immigration and Naturalization Service treats immigrants from Latin America -- both those who have a legitimate claim to be here and those who don't. It was not a pretty sight.

My client came to the United States from El Salvador in 1979. In El Salvador, he was studying to be a priest and was a close friend and assistant to Arturo Rivera y Damas, who is now the nation's archbishop. While living with Damas and travelling with him to various religious functions, Mr. Garcia (not his real name) was threatened by police and members of the military because of his religious beliefs, and was told that he would one day be killed because of his friendship with Damas. After former Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero was brutally assassinated and several fellow students mysteriously disappeared, Mr. Garcia realized these were not idle threats, and left El Salvador to seek asylum in the United States. He believed that he would find a friendly and safe haven here, where people cherish individual freedom and detest religious and political persecution. He was quickly disillusioned.

Soon after he arrived in America, Mr. Garcia was arrested by the INS and told that he would be deported back to El Salvador unless he could prove that he had a "well-founded fear of persecution" -- in other words, that he might be interrogated, tortured, or killed, if he returned to his native land. Despite the fact that Mr. Garcia could document his relationship with Rivera y Damas and that the State Department had already recommended that he be given asylum because of that relationship, the INS decided that Mr. Garcia was not entitled to stay here. Because his request for asylum was opposed by the INS, Mr. Garcia was required to appear before an immigration judge who could make a decision on his status. But, due to the severe backlog and general confusion that are the order of the day at the Immigration Court, Mr. Garcia and I - now his lawyer - were required to return repeatedly to the court and to wait around for hours at a time, only to be informed at the end of the day that the judge would once again be unable to hear our case. Mr. Garcia's frustration was exceeded only by mine -- having practiced law in other courts in Washington, I knew this was not the way to conduct legal proceedings.

After two years of this, Mr. Garcia finally received his asylum hearing. Following the presentation of his testimony to the immigration judge, which detailed his relationship with Rivera y Damas, the threats that had been levelled against him and his family, and the persecution that other clergymen and seminarians has suffered, he was subjected to rigorous cross-examination by the INS lawyer that could have shaken even a hardened criminal. Although Mr. Garcia had documentary evidence to support his asylum claim, he was accused of being a liar who had completely fabricated his entire life story. Although he had left a seminary and prestigious positions as assistant to a high-ranking clergyman for a country where he has had to scrub toilets and mow lawns in order to feed his family, he was accused of being an opportunist who came here to take work away from Americans. And when he explained that he would not serve in the Salvadoran armed forces because his religious principles did not permit him to take other human lives, he was accused of fleeing from his patriotic duty.

When the INS lawyer looked at Mr. Garcia, he apparently did not see a human being who might actually face persecution if returned to El Salvador and who therefore might be deserving of the asylum right that Congress created. Instead, he saw Mr. Garcia as a criminal and his own role as that of prosecutor -- duty-bound to expose some flaw in Mr. Garcia's character or story that warranted his return to a land where his life would be in

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jeopardy. That attitude apparently pervades the thinking of the INS. When confronted after the hearing, the INS attorney could not recall a single time that the agency had not opposed a request for asylum.

Fortunately, the immigration judge did not accept the INS' characterizations of Mr. Garcia. In fact, in ruling that Mr. Garcia is entitled to asylum, the judge commented on his sincerity and dedication to making himself a productive and valued member of our society. The INS, however, remains intent on returning Mr. Garcia to El Salvador, and has indicated that it will appeal the judge's decision to the Board of Immigration Appeals and further, if necessary.

Thus, the final chapter in this story remains to be written and there may be a happy ending for Mr. Garcia. But his treatment by the INS will leave lasting scars. He is confused by a system that threatens his employment by forcing him to spend long and pointless hours at the immigration court. He is perplexed by a nation that preaches religious tolerance and swears its abhorrence of religious and political persecution yet treats those fleeing such persecution with suspicion and hostility. He is angry at a bureaucracy that does not know him or the conditions that he and his family have had to endure yet attacks him as a liar and coward.

Mr. Garcia is a deeply moral and religious man. He once told me that he loves all people. He also admitted that he had come to hate the immigration authorities.

- ACLU Newsletter

The competency & compassion beat

• The Barry and Washington administrations' handling of federal housing funds has been so poor that HUD was reported last month to be preparing to impose its own reorganization on the city's housing authority. An audit uncovered some $20 million lost through waste and delinquent rents. $1.6 million discrepancy in a cash balance account and $57,000 worth of home appliances either missing or unaccounted for. In addition to the delinquent rents, the audit also discovered that some tenants were being overcharged and some not being billed at all. Margaret White, chief of HUD's Washington field office, told the Washington Times, "I don't know if it's fraud. I don't know if it's mismanagement, but we're going to find out."

• The Barry administration has been paying ministers $50 a head to attend anti-drug seminars and also paying church choirs to sing at the seminars. The program cost $25,000 last year, but this year, election year, the budget request jumped to $75,000. At least one minister dropped out of the program saying, "It just seemed political to me. I don't think the mayor should give ministers money for community service they should be doing."

• Marion Barry gathered some 100 top officials and public information officers together for a day long session on "Effective Communications: Key to Good Government." According to the City Paper, Barry is compiling a list of ten or fifteen words that will have to be in every news release put out by the city government. Words such as "competence, compassion, effective," and "efficient." Barry also used the session to rip into local reporters and told his audience, "Don't ever apologize for the mayor being late." After Barry's speech, those in attendance got a lesson in damage control from a Reagan flack, who explained how to stonewall and freeze out unfriendly media.

• Carl Bergman, former city assistant auditor, wondered recently in a letter to the Post, what the city is doing to recover the $19,000 it awarded Ivanhoe Donaldson on his presumed retirement from public life. The award was for exemplary service.

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FEDERAL BUDGET CUTS COULD COST AREA $1.8 BILLION IN 1987

The Greater Washington Research Center, in a new report, says that cutbacks in the federal spending could mean a loss of $1.8 billion to the local economy. The federal government accounts for over $31 billion in spending in the area, equal roughly to fifty percent of the total personal income of area residents. On a per capita basis, federal spending locally is over $10,000 per person compared with $3700 per person nationally. DC will be the hardest hit by the federal reductions; the federal government spends about $12.5 billion in the DC economy.

A HIDDEN CAUSE OF PRISON OVERCROWDING

One of the reasons for the overcrowding of DC's prison facilities, despite delining crime and arrest rates, is the increased use of preventive detention — holding untried suspects without bail. The problem is aggravated by a big jump in federal preventive detention — one of the reasons the federal government wants DC to build its own prison space rather than ship the overflow to US institutions. Curiously, the issue of preventive detention is seldom raised in the arguments over local prison policy, but as Charles Simms of the ACLU says of the national law, "It's a terrible thing for the Constitution. We think it's being used far too broadly.'

RAINBOW COALITION MAKES MARYLAND CHOICES

The Maryland Rainbow Coalition has endorsed Michael Barnes for US Senate, Stephen Sachs for governor, and Eleanor Carey for attorney general.

WARD PLANS DUE JUNE 16

The city council has approved an extension of the deadline for preliminary ward reports on the comprehensive plan to June 16. Originally due in March, the ward plans have been subjected to a series of manipulations by the Barry administration, beginning with placing developers and non-city business buddies of the mayor on the committees and including delays in providing staffing and technical assistance. Barry wanted the reports delayed until September, too late for them to be an issue in the fall primary campaign.

The Washington Pledge of Resistance reports that one thousand people in the Washington area have signed a statement pledging nonviolent civil disobedience or legal protest if there is further military escalation in Central America.

Woodley Park residents report no success in halting the annual fall military maneuvers of the Association of the United States Army in their community. The organization attracts 23,000 visitors to its fall meeting at the Sheraton Washington. Last time, Woodley Park residents were awakened at 5:30 am by tanks in the streets and hotel loading dock operations. Residential streets were also closed to permit loading.

Brian Moore has announced that he will run for mayor as an independent. Moore ran unsuccessfully for an at-large seat on the council in 1984. The Southwest activist has been critical of what he calls the "deep moral vacumn" of the Barry administration and its failure to address deep-rooted problems.

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Furthermore. . .

Nadine Winter's loss was John Wilson's gain last month, as the Barry administration dumped 50 prisoners in the old 9th Precinct building, much to Winter's distress. What wasn't reported, however, was that earlier that same day Marion Barry went to John Wilson and told him that he was going to put the prisoners on the old Jewish Community Center at 16th & Que NW. Wilson reportedly told Barry, if you're going to put 50 prisoners in there you're going to have to put 51 in. He then stormed back to his office to organized a telephone and telegram campaign against the plan. The effort was apparently so successful that less than three hours later, the mayor had backed off and selected the 9th Precinct instead.

Roses to Kathy Williams, longtime city hall deputy press secretary, who was always friendly, helpful and factual. Williams is moving to Nevada with her new songwriter husband.

The Reagan administration, through the National Park Service, quietly put new restrictions on the use of the Lincoln Memorial area for rallies last month. NOW had planned to have a major part of its big abortion demonstration at the site but was told by the NPS that loudspeakers had to be set up in such a way as to not disturb those at the Vietnam Memorial. NOW's sound consultants said that this would be impractical so the rally was moved. NOW decided not to make a legal or media case of the matter. Ironically, the Lincoln Memorial was one of the places where rallies were held against the Vietnam war.

Greaseman, the WWDC-FM disc jockey whose remarks about Martin Luther King's birthday touched off a furor, may be more of a nihilist than a racist. The morning after the space shuttle exploded, he did a skit featuring astronaut Christa McAuliffe saying, "What happens if I push this button?"

The ACLU is looking for volunteer attorneys to represent Central American asylum seekers in cases before immigration judges and the Board of Immigration Appeals. Info: Carol Wolchok at 543-4651 or Carolyn Walker at 682-5900.

Thorns to People's Drug for caving into right-wing pressure and stopping sales of adult magazines. In a letter to Fairfax Board of Supervisors chair, People's president Sheldon Fantle said, "We believe the social mores in the communities in which we do business have evolved from the freer-thinking 1970s to a social structure with greater respect for fundamental traditions and values."

The Women's Legal Defense Fund has published a handbook for waitresses that provides practical information on employment rights, sexual harrassment, pregnancy discrimination, workplace health and safety, immigration laws and other matters. The **Waitresses Handbook** is available for $7 from the Women's Legal Defense Fund, 2000 P St. NW< DC 20036.

The dangers of using paid petition signature collectors was sadly demonstrated recently as the proposed initiative to restore no-fault insurance was sacked because of insufficient proper signatures. Insurance companies and community groups spent between $50,000 and $100,000 in the drive and turned in 22,400 signatures to the board of elections. The initiative needed 13,200 valid signatures but the board ruled there were only 10,900 good ones.

Roses to the City Council and UDC for agreeing to take over the financially-troubled Antioch Law School. The council approved $1.3 million to support the takeover.

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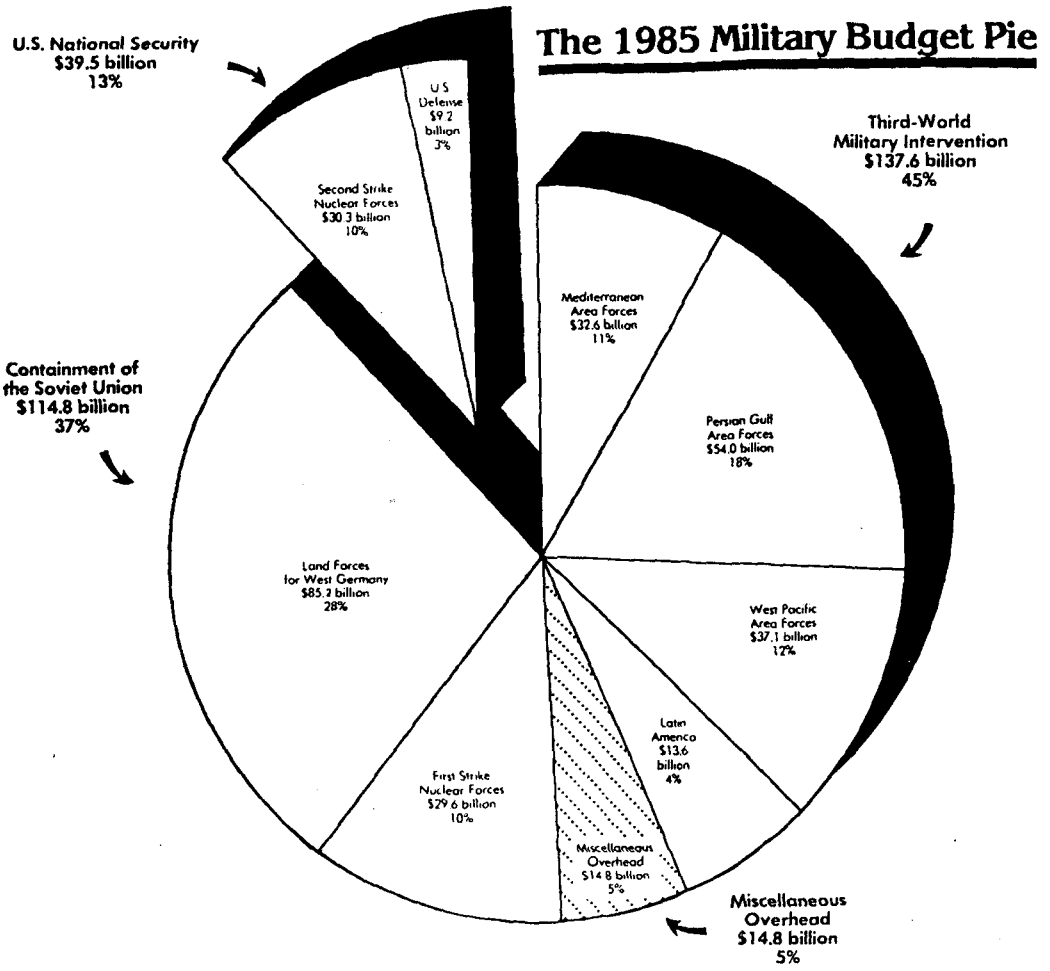

A Few Billion for Defense

(and what the rest is for)

HOWARD MORELAND

The Department of Defense spends very little money defending the United States. The reason is simple. The country faces no military threat except the nuclear threat, and effective defense against nuclear weapons does not exist. (The administration's "Star Wars" missile defense is merely a research program and accounts for less than 1% of the military budget.)

So what does the Defense Department do with $300 billion a year? The answer is not obvious. A perusal of the military budget by Congress each year is not very helpful. All we see is military pay, operating costs, and new equipment costs for each branch of service. To understand the military budget, we need to rearrange it to show the costs of military missions.

When we do so, using Fiscal Year 1985 figures, we find that only 3% of the military budget goes to defense of the nation's borders, and another 10% goes to deterring unprovoked nuclear attack against the United States, which is the closest thing to nuclear defense that there is. Eighty-two

From a policy paper of the Coalition for a New Military & Foreign Policy

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percent of the money goes to support various overseas military commitments.

The purpose of this paper is not to argue that all of those overseas military commitments are unwise, but to point out how expensive they are and to call for a vigorous public debate on the proper role of military force in U.S. foreign policy.

Every country defines its military operations as defensive, of course, no matter where they occur. All countries would prefer to have their wars fought in other countries. As former Senator John Tower put it, "It is axiomatic that . . . you establish your defense perimeter as close to [your adversary's] shores as possible and as far from your own shores as possible." But countries playing host to, or being confronted by, another country's "forward defense" forces are likely to regard them as provocative or aggressive.

The only definition of defense that has any hope of being accepted universally is direct defense of territory belonging to the soldiers doing the defending. That is the definition used here.

I. United States National Security - $39.5 Billion, or 13%

A. Border Defense. It is true that all 539 of the Navy's combat ships could be used to stop enemy troops from landing on our coasts. All seventeen Army land divisions, with Air Force tactical and airlift support, could be used to kill or capture invading soldiers once they got here. But that is not why we have them. The forces are not designed or funded for that purpose because there is no such need. The United States is well protected by oceans to the east and west and by friendly neighbors north and south.

Out of more than 300,000 Army combat soldiers, only 4,500, stationed in Alaska, are assigned primarily to the defense of the homeland. Over 95% of the rest have military missions on distant continents.

The Air Force is so uninterested in air defense that the old Air Defense Command has been downgraded from major command status and its functions increasingly turned over to the Air National Guard. There is little glamour in waiting to intercept enemy airplanes that never come. Two thirds of the active Air Force is devoted to getting Army troops overseas and to protecting them with fighter planes once they get there.

The Navy is so relaxed about coastal defense that, out of four numbered fleets, only the two overseas fleets, the 6th and 7th fleets, are called "deployed." The two home fleets, the 2nd and the 3rd fleets, are called "non-deployed" and are considered training fleets for the other two, which are stationed in the Mediterranean Sea and in the West Pacific and Indian Oceans.

The Marine Corps, by its very nature, is an interventionary force. Its mission is to go from ship to shore under hostile fire, obviously not something our Marines expect to do on U.S. beaches.

Of all the large industrial nations of the world, the United States is possibly the least in danger of military invasion, a fact which is well reflected in the structure of U.S. military forces.

In fact, most of this country's border defense is performed not by the Defense Department but by the Coast Guard (Transportation Department) and by the Customs and Immigration Services, which altogether consume 1.3% of the total military budget.

B. Second-Strike Weapons. Despite its safety from military invasion, the United States has never been less secure. Nuclear weapons threaten our continued existence, and there is nothing we can do militarily to protect ourselves. In the absence of defense, we use the threat of revenge to frighten Soviet leaders into not using nuclear weapons.

But that job requires only a few hundred "second-strike" warheads deployed on invulnerable delivery systems. The 7,000 warheads on existing missile submarines and bombers provide this second-strike force many times over. All the new strategic weapons are first-strike weapons intended for use with overseas military actions.

Ironically, if the proposed "star wars" missile shield is used to protect missile silos instead of cities, assuming it works at all, it will be a second-strike weapon system (i.e., to protect U.S. weapons against a Soviet first strike). In this analysis it is tentatively listed as a first-strike system because it is often described as a population defense in conjunction with the new offensive strategic weapons (i.e., to protect U.S. cities against retaliation after a U.S. first strike).

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II. Containment of the Soviet Union - $114.8 Billion, or 37%

A. Land and Air Forces for West Germany. The biggest single budget category, 28% of the military budget, is the cost of land and air forces for the military occupation of West Germany. At the end of World War II, the armies of Russia and the United States stood facing each other on German soil. They have been standing that way ever since, the wartime allies now enemies. It is not well known by the American public, but **fully two-thirds of the U.S. Army and almost half of the Air Force are prepared to begin fighting World War III in Germany, on a moment's notice.**

The equivalent of five full Army divisions (18,000 soldiers apiece) is already stationed in West Germany. Pentagon plans call for another five divisions to be airlifted there within ten days of a decision to mobilize. This troop commitment to West Germany is the official reason the United States cannot renounce the "first use" of nuclear weapons. Pentagon war plans call for the use of short-range nuclear weapons to keep troop positions in West Germany from being overrun by Russians, even if the Russians have not yet used their own nuclear weapons.

B. First-Strike Nuclear Weapons. Another 10% of the budget goes to counter-force, or "first-strike," nuclear weapons which are said to be essential to protecting U.S. troops in Europe. They would be used to strike the missile silos and submarines of the Soviet Union, destroying any Soviet missiles that have not already been launched. These are the "destabilizing" nuclear weapons which drive the nuclear arms race. Their purpose is to convince Russian leaders that the United States is prepared to *start* a nuclear war.

If that seems hard to believe, one should note that every American president since Truman has explicitly confirmed a nuclear first-use policy. The Reagan administration did so in the 1983 Scowcroft Commission Report on the MX missile. The Commission stated, "The Soviets must continue to believe what has been NATO's doctrine for three decades: that if we or our allies should be attacked—by massive conventional means or otherwise—the United States has the will and the means to defend with the full range of American power." The report explains that if Soviet leaders so much as threaten a non-nuclear attack they risk an American nuclear response.

Since the Russians have thousands of their own nuclear weapons, they might conclude that NATO's nuclear first-use policy is an idle bluff, and there is little risk in ignoring it as long as American leaders are sane. The Scowcroft Commission's answer to that objection explains the role of first-strike weapons: "We must be able to put at risk those types of Soviet targets—including hardened ones such as military command bunkers and facilities, missile silos, nuclear weapons, and other storage and the rest—which the Soviet leaders have given every indication by their actions they value most." The Navy has recently admitted that it plans to use attack submarines to sink Soviet missile submarines as soon as as a conventional war starts.

In other words, we plan to be able to knock the Soviet Union out of the war entirely, before Soviet nuclear weapons can be fired at the United States in retaliation. Only then can we threaten nuclear first use with impunity, and thereby protect our troops in Germany.

Thus what seems to be nuclear parity to many observers was called Soviet superiority by the Reagan administration. The reason: Pentagon doctrine says the United States must have what amounts to nuclear superiority in long-range weapons in order to compensate for the geographic disadvantage of having the North Atlantic Ocean separating us from our half of Germany.

As long as this Pentagon doctrine remains intact—nuclear first use made credible by a first-strike capability—the U.S. NATO commitment will dash all hopes for meaningful nuclear arms control. But a U.S. nuclear first-use policy also provides the only plausible rationale for a Soviet nuclear attack on North America. U.S. military policy in West Germany is the chief cause of the *only* military threat to the United States.

III. Third-World Military Intervention - $137.6 Billion, or 45%

A. Mediterranean Area. The Navy's Mediterranean Fleet (the 6th Fleet) is officially described as a force for NATO's southern flank. However, in the last forty years, all the military operations of the Med Fleet have been directed toward the Asian and African countries of the Mediterranean region, not the European countries. It is safe to assume, furthermore, that in a war with

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the Soviet Union any U.S. surface ships would be sunk immediately, by nuclear weapons if necessary. For that reason, this analysis treats the Med Fleet as a Third-World interventionary force. Together with foreign aid and land troops, it accounts for another 11% of the military budget.

B. Persian Gulf Area. The second largest category of the military budget, 18%, was formerly called the Rapid Deployment Force. Today it is called Central Command and its mission destination is the Persian Gulf. The original mission of this Persian Gulf force was twofold: to ensure the continued flow of crude oil to the West, and to deny the Soviet Union a warm-water naval port in the region.

Because of the 1979 revolution in Iran, however, U.S. troops may now have trouble finding a friendly country to land in near the Persian Gulf. In discussing the practical difficulties of waging war in that region, Secretary of Defense Weinberger reminded a recent audience that the 86,000 Central Command soldiers have secondary commitments in other parts of the world as well. Perhaps they are more likely to see combat in Central America or the Philippines than in the Persian Gulf.

C. West Pacific Area. For the Western Pacific region, there are two Army divisions, one in Korea and one in Hawaii, major Air Force bases in Japan and the Philippines, a Marine division in Okinawa, and the Navy's 7th Fleet. According to the Department of Defense *Annual Report to the Congress*, the mission of these forces is "to deter the Soviet Union, North Korea, and Vietnam from interfering with the independence and stability of our friends and allies." They account for another 12% of the military budget.

D. Caribbean and Latin America. Despite the high visibility of U.S. military actions in Central America, no large land forces and few fighting ships are committed to the region on a day-to-day basis. However, the five Central Command divisions and much of the "non-deployed" 2nd Fleet in the Atlantic could be quickly reassigned to Central America.

E. Sub-Saharan Africa and the Rest of the World. The entire Southern Hemisphere is virtually free of United States troop and ship commitments, although that situation could change.

Altogether, some 37% of the 1985 military budget, or $115 billion, was spent on keeping Russian tanks out of West Germany, and another 45%, or $138 billion, went to Third World interventionary forces. Only 13% was used to protect the United States directly.

As far as U.S. national security is concerned, the main difference between intervening against Russia on German soil and intervening in the Third World, is that the second kind of intervention is less likely to be suicidal. After all, no two nuclear-armed adversaries have ever gone to war against each other, and many observers doubt it is possible without triggering a global holocaust.

But other kinds of war have been frequent in recent years. As long as at least one party to the conflict does not have nuclear weapons, it appears that the world can survive the experience. Until Third-World nations or insurgent groups learn how to smuggle nuclear weapons into American cities there will be a strong temptation to continue spending over a hundred billion dollars a year trying to impose our own kind of order on the Third World.

It is essential, however, that interventionary forces never be used against a well-armed enemy. The entire surface navy is vulnerable to instant sinking by nuclear-armed missiles, and it would have a hard time surviving a concerted attack by "smart" high-tech conventional missiles, like the Exocet missile the Argentines used against British ships in 1982. Any nation which is better-armed than North Vietnam was during the 1960's will be able to sink ships and destroy airfields and ports and prevent the resupply and reinforcement of overseas U.S. ground troops.

Even if the enemy is weak enough not to threaten the United States or its major overseas forces, intervention policy can still fail. The fall of the Saigon government and the overthrow of the Shah of Iran are two examples of U.S. intervention policy which failed despite overwhelming military superiority on the U.S. side. Any time foreign citizens face the barrel of an American gun on their own territory, lasting hatreds are created. Those hatreds can translate into politics which defeat whatever foreign policy objective the United States has.

Finally, the day is not far off when car bombs will contain nuclear explosives. When that day comes, shells from U.S. battleships overseas could trigger nuclear fireballs in Chicago. The national security risk of Third-World intervention will then

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approach the risk of Second-World intervention against the other superpower.

Reducing the Military Budget

Even though overseas military commitments consume the lion's share of the military budget, congressional attempts to reduce or limit military spending have rarely taken that fact into account.

People who wish to reduce the U.S. military budget have usually taken one of three approaches:

- budget ceilings which leave it up to the admirals and generals to figure out how to spend the money;
- military reform which attempts to reduce the cost of each combat soldier; and
- the single-weapon approach which says, for example, no money will be spent to buy MX missiles.

None of these approaches challenges more than a few percent of the budget. (Remember that 1% of the military budget is $3 billion.)

In 1985 MX missile procurement was less than 1% of the military budget, and the entire "Star Wars" program was less than half of 1%. Yet those two items were the public focus of the most visible efforts to reduce military spending, despite the fact that reducing spending was not the main reason either was opposed. By comparison, a miscellaneous category called "Other Procurement, Navy" contained 357 items of several million dollars each, ranging from submarine propellers and minesweep cables to practice bombs and parachute flares. "Other Procurement, Navy" was bigger than the MX and Star Wars put together.

Only when we calculate the full cost of various military missions, and then call for eliminating certain missions, do we begin to contest significant portions of the military budget.

CHUCK STONE
Kaddish for Paul Robeson

Yaacov Luria's "Kaddish for Paul Robeson" did more than eulogize a titamic genius. It almost seemed to be sorrowfully reliving an alliance that now flounders on conflicting shoals.

"This is the true story of black-Jewish relations, not Farrakhan," retired businessman Sam Bortnick wrote me from Florida. He enclosed Luria's article, which had been published in the Miami Herald.

"I remember when we picketed, blacks and Jews together, during the time Paul Robeson was fighting for justice."

Two weeks ago, the Jewish Exponent devoted a full page to Luria's kaddish to Robeson. Another friend, Fanchon Apfel, sent it to me.

Like Sam, she may have longed for an alliance no longer cemented by Robeson's black audaciousness.

As a teen-age radical, I adored Robeson. Maybe I was stirring to the first half of Disraeli's wry paean to growth — A man who is not a Liberal at 16 has no heart; a man who is not a Conservative at 60 has no head.

Or maybe it was because I lived only a few miles from Robeson's elegant homestead in Enfield, Conn., and his wife, Islanda, occasionally attended our church.

But Robeson also excited Luria's great expectations.

When I was growing into manhood, he was my role model. It is thus only proper that I commemorate his yahrzeit ...The Jewish tradition of yahrzeit makes the anniversary of a person's death a special day of remembrance ... A candle is lit and kaddish — actually a petition to God for peace in the world — is chanted in honor of the deceased ... A yahrzeit touches them with a touch of immortality ...

When I was a college student in the 1930s, there were no more than three blacks —

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"Negro" was the word used then — whose names commanded instant recognition: Joe Louis, Walter White and Paul Robeson ...

In common with many college-bred young people, I shared Robeson's politics ... If you were young and idealistic — "socially conscious" — in those days, Paul Robeson became your idol ...

Paul Robeson had a special affinity for Jews, partly because so many had befriended him, but also because he recognized that prejudice against his own group and against Jews was the same many-faced monster ...

One of his favorite songs which he usually sang after a group of Negro spirituals was the greatest of Yiddish folk songs, "The Kaddish of Rebbe Levi-Yitzhok" ...

When he was on a concert tour of countries in the Soviet orbit, he was instructed to omit Jewish songs from his repertoire. One evening in Warsaw in the 1950s, he complied — until the very end of his program. Then he signaled his accompanist, smiled and sang every Jewish song he knew ...

Luria's words brought tears to my eyes. I remembered the raw hatred spewed at Robeson because of his outspoken socialist views, the political ostracism he suffered because he praised Russia, the violence at Peekskil, because he tried to give a concert there, the suspicion that I was a communist in college because I lauded him.

He taught us all how to stand tall. But even his legacy of love has fallen on hard times.

The Jewish community has tumbled from Arthur B.Spingarn to Morris B. Abram, from Joseph L. Rauh to Meir Kahane. The black community has plunged from Walter White to Louis Farrakhan, from Paul Robeson to W. Wilson Goode.

Yesterday, caring giants in both communities dared to be risk-takers for the other's pain. They sacrificed an easy comfort to reach beyond their peoplehood's insularity.

Today, each community has a higher priority than being its brother's keeper.

Yes, a kaddish for Paul Robeson.

But also chant a kaddish for a fragile alliance whose ex-nobility once transfigured the moral landscape of this nation.

Philadelphia Daily News

CIA gets back into publishing

Don Edwards

Harvard University found out and made public that its Professor Nadar Safran accepted $107,430 from the Central Intelligence Agency to secretly underwrite his recently published book, *Saudi Araba: The Ceaseless Quest for Security*. The C.I.A. also underwrote with $45,700 a symposium on Islamic fundamentalism organized by Safran, without telling either Harvard or the participants about the C.I.A. involvement. This is serious misconduct by the C.I.A. So far the news accounts of this incident have focused on Harvard and Professor Safran, not on the C.I.A. Does this mean that the news media believe this practice is business as usual for the C.I.A. or that we have all forgotten that ten years ago this behavior produced a major controversy?

The public is entitled to know if these are isolated ventures or if we are back to the bad old days when one didn't know which book was a C.I.A. plant. How many books, magazines, and newspapers are there in the U.S. that are in reality C.I.A. propaganda? How many professors and clergymen are on its payroll?

The Church Committee in 1976 found that prior to 1967 the C.I.A. sponsored, subsidized, or produced over 1,000 books, approximately 25% of them in English. The most notorious was *The Penkovsky Papers*, published in the U.S. in 1965. Even the publisher was unaware of the C.I.A. sponsorship. A particularly distressing incident took place in the mid-seventies, when a C.I.A.-sponsored book was used to persuade Congress to support the Vietnam war.

The flap that resulted from these disclosures brought solemn promises by the C.I.A. to stop such activities within the U.S. "We will, under no circumstances, publish books, magazines or newspapers in the U.S.," promised C.I.A. Deputy Director for Plans Desmond Fitzgerald. The Church Committee report was published in 1976 and stated that since 1967 the C.I.A. has stuck to its promise -- no secret book publishing in the U.S. In light of the Safran incident, we must now determine when the practice started again and how extensive a program it is.

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The clandestine C.I.A. financing of the Harvard conference on Islamic fundamentalism also conjures up recollections of past covert C.I.A. relationships with American academics. The Church Committee found that in 1967 the C.I.A. was using "several hundred American academics [administrators, faculty, graduate students engaged in teaching] who in addition to providing leads and, on occasion, making introductions for intelligence purposes, occasionally write books and other material to be used for propaganda purposes abroad . . . . These academics are located in over 100 American colleges, universities, and related institutes. At the majority of institutions, no one other than the individual concerned is aware of the C.I.A. link . . . ."

The Church Committee did not recommend a law forbidding the operational use of academics by the C.I.A., but it strongly recommended that both the professor hired by the C.I.A. and the president of the college be informed of the clandestine C.I.A. relationship. This recommendation clearly was not followed in the Harvard case. A former Harvard dean was told four years ago about C.I.A. financing of the book, but the college knew nothing about the agency's connection with the conference.

The Harvard disclosures return our attention to the ugly era when the C.I.A. on a wholesale basis not only clandestinely published propaganda books in the U.S. but also subsidized student organizations, owned newspapers and magazines, hired professors, journalists and even clergymen.

Already there are repercussions over the Harvard incidents. Islamic scholars, for example, are dismayed. Said one, "People in the Middle East to whom we must have access would never trust us again." As for college students, never wholly reverent towards their professors, are they beginning to wonder, as the professor lectures, "Is he real, or is he C.I.A.?"

The author is a member of Congress from California. From Recon Network.

EUGENE McCARTHY

Joseph's farm policy

It is a good thing that the Wall Street Journal, the New York Times, and the Washington Post were not leading newspapers in Egypt during the time that Joseph, who was, among other things, Secretary of Agriculture to the Pharaoh.

For if they had been, and had their editorials been heeded, the Biblical stories of the seven fat years and the seven lean years would never have been written, and the wisdom and foresight of Joseph never have been noted.

These three papers in our time persistently attack the farm program. The Journal, especially, which found little difficulty with the bail-outs of the Pennsylvania railroad, of Chrysler, of major banks, is distressed over the prospect of significant government aid for the nearly 25 percent of the American farmers who are in trouble, victims of inflation, past and present, and of depressed farm prices, and the failure of a series of administrations' sound fiscal and trade policies bearing on the agricultural economy.

"*There are* too many farmers," in any case, says one editorial. "And displaced farmers," because they have managerial experience, continues the same editorial, can "more readily" find employment outside agriculture. "The world no longer needs American agricultural production," says another article, because the backward and low-producing nations of the past (Mexico and India, they cite as examples) have improved their agriculture. This word would come as a surprise to the undernourished multitudes of both Mexico and India, and would certainly not be reassuring to the starving in Ethiopia. Even the Chinese who have come to the U.S. for grain, and the Russians, might lift an eyebrow or two over the article.

The potential supercow — developed, by report, at Cornell University, is of great concern for the New York Times. This cow will, to the apparent chagrin of the Times, produce as

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much as 40 percent more milk than the average cow in production today.

The Times sees a veritable tidal wave of milk flowing over the country despite the fact that the agricultural community and the country responded satisfactorily to the almost 300 percent increase in milk production per cow in America between 1985 and today — from 5,300 pounds to nearly 13,000 pounds. These same critical papers fail to note that in the last 18 years of continuing serious inflation beginning in 1967, when the base went from 100 to more than 280 in 1985, the index of what farmers received, relative to what they paid, was significantly above parity in only two years, and below parity in 13 of those years.

In Joseph's time, these same papers not only would have assailed the high cost of the purchase and storage program, but they would have questioned the wisdom of anticipating trouble seven years into the future, and especially, after the second or third year of good crops, when Joseph, according to the Scriptures, was gathering "corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for it was without number."

Along with generally deploring the costs of the farm program implemented by Joseph, there would also have been reports of inquiries of investigative reporters, probably followed by "Sixty Minutes" segments showing that some of the grainaries were leaking. Undoubtedly rodent hairs would have been found, along with some droppings, perhaps, in the bins. Maybe even some pigeon feathers.

It would have been discovered that some grain had been stolen, and undoubtedly over the seven-year period, some had become moldy, and would have been thrown away.

The Criticism might well have stopped the collecting and storing of grain by the end of the fifth year, setting the stage for at least two years of serious food shortages before the seven lean years ended — not only in Egypt, but in other countries as well, such as Canaan, adjacent to Egypt.

If the grain had not been stored, and the famine years had come on, the same papers would have blamed Joseph -- denounced him, for lack of foresight.

Student apathy a bum rap?

Jim Schwartz

Today's students may be more interested in jobs and wealth than their predecessors, but it's not because they're greedier, two University of Wisconsin professors say.

Their study of student attitudes also suggests calling collegians apathetic is a bum rap.

"I think attributing apathy to this generation of college students is misleading," maintains Prof. Bud McClure of the University of Wisconsin at River Falls.

In a sample of almost 300 students from the River Falls campus, McClure and associate Thomas Russo found students to be most concerned with issues that have immediate impact on their lives.

Students listed abortion, the nuclear arms race, drug use, pollution, conservation, politics, world hunger, unemployment, poverty and equal rights as their most important concerns.

"International issues of today are perceived to be out of control," McClure says.

In contrast, the "quiet generation" of the fifties was more orderly because "there was a sense of [national] invulnerability."

But today's students, McClure says, are not much different from their predecessors of the late sixties and early seventies.

He thinks it's because observers often exaggerate the number of students who were politically active in the sixties, and underestimate the number who are active today.

The key to provoking student activism, he says, is to find issues that affect students directly, and ones about which they feel they can influence the outcome.

McClure attributes student interest in South African apartheid to students realizing they can influence college holdings in companies doing business with the Pretoria government.

"I don't disagree with" the notion that students are not as politically passive as some critics suggest, says Kenneth Green of UCLA, which co-sponsors with the American Council on Education an annual survey of some 200,000 freshmen nationwide.

Most observers who call collegians

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apathetic, in fact, cite the UCLA study, which, among other discoveries, has found freshmen becoming ever more materialistic in their life goals.

The findings recently convinced a group of college presidents to resolve to make "community service" a graduation requirement. The group hoped to end students' "preoccupation" with career and material goals.

But a number of other studies, most recently from Mount Hood College in Maryland, documents that student attitudes generally change and become less egocentric during the course of college.

And many of the other impressions of students as overly materialistic are derived from studies done at "private elitist schools in the East," McClure contends.

McClure's study, done at a midwestern state school, may be more representative of student attitudes nationwide, he says.

His students' career aspirations, moreover, have more to do with "trying to establish an identity in a chaotic world," McClure concludes. He believes becoming a professional is a way of exerting control over oneself in a world frequently perceived as out of control.

"Some say it's greed, while others say it's uncertainty about the future," Green says of student career aspirations.

"When I have asked a college audience 'how many of you know people who have lost their job?' I see a sea of hands," Green adds.

This may be why "we see a lot of portfolio-building behavior" among college students, he speculates. –CPS

CHARLES McDOWELL Mission to Florida

To tell the truth, it is not all wonderful to be back in Washington after a week in Florida.

In Florida, people go hours at a time without mentioning the Gramm-Rudman automatic budget-reduction law, which obsesses Washington. In Florida, the average person you meet on the beach does not bring up anything that is going on in Washington.

In Florida, Washington is very far away and dimly perceived and I found that people are not inclined to focus on distant and disagreeable abstractions when they are squinting into the sun at pelicans.

My mission to St. Petersburg was professional — a seminar on journalism — and I was confident that my fellows from around the country would be at least mildly interested in Washington affairs. I did not want to talk about budgets and politics all the time, mind you, but surely there would be a modest support level for my addiction.

Well, neither Washington nor its journalism came up in the seminar (let alone in my contact with the population at large) unless I brought it up. Then the subject would be quickly changed, as if it were goofy and irrelevant.

These journalists, most of them fairly young, were interested in "human" subjects and how to write about them in newspapers in ways that conveyed a sense of life's reality.

One evening, after hours, I appealed to some of my colleagues, young and old, to consider the effect of Washington and its journalism on life's reality throughout the country. I cited Gramm-Rudman, of course, as a prime case. I had been patient with their soul-searching writer talk for several days and now they were willing to be patient with me, briefly.

So I argued the crucial importance of conveying to the country the potentially terrible impact of Gramm-Rudman on ordinary lives. If the automatic provisions of the law are allowed to assert themselves in the 1987 budget, for example, there will be cuts of perhaps 25 percent in federal appropriations for highways, the Postal Service, the National Weather Service, the National Cancer Institute, AIDS research, federal drug enforcement, the FBI, the Veterans Administration, nuclear waste disposal, financial aid to college students, the Internal Revenue Service and

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the space program, just to name some federal activities that came to mind.

"Preposterous," somebody said. "Craziness," another said. Several emitted sounds that connoted, simultaneously, outrage and boredom.

Just to cover all the political bases, which we are sensitive to in Washington, I let them know that Gramm-Rudman would require a cut as deep as 20 percent in the military budget for 1987.

"It'll never happen," somebody said. "Will it?"

No, it probably won't happen, I said.

"Then why does Washington have to put us through this round of fakery?"

So that Congress will scare itself and the public sufficiently that a reasonable and resposible deficit-reduction program can be substituted for the automatic provisions of Gramm-Rudman, I explained.

My friends in Florida thought it was scandalous that Washington had to scare itself into trying to do the right thing — cut the budget selectively and raise some new revenue to sustain the federal programs that most people will want to sustain. It was not beyond their understanding at all. They understood it, had contempt for it and saw no reason to have to read so much about each unfolding chapter of the scenario.

Only in Washington perhaps are we fascinated by President Reagan's pretending that new taxes will not have to be imposed and by the Democrats' pretending that some of the entitlement programs will not have to be trimmed and by the discomfort of Republicans, especially, who strive daily to show support for the president on the one hand and respect for reality on the other.

The problem is, if the people in the considerable swatch of the country beyond Washington don't get interested enough to block Gramm-Rudman and do the right thing? Oh, well. If Gramm-Rudman were to survive and deliver its bombshell, we journalists would write intensely human accounts of the disaster.

Richmond Times - Dispatch

MORE SEX AND VIOLENCE

How bad are things in Turin, Italy? So bad the archbishop has brought in six exorcists to chase the devil out of town. They'll have their work cut out: the church has a backlog of over 1300 souls who claim they've been possessed by demons. No one's been able to help since Turin's last two exorcists retired three years ago, citing ill health and fatigue.

California Republican Representative Robert Dornan, who called a Radio Moscow commentator a "disloyal, betraying little Jew," further distinguished himself by later saying of his statement: "It wasn't a Freudian slip ... I wasn't even aware I said it."

The founder of the "Premonitions Registry" says he's checked out the 8-thousand psychic predictions that have been sent in over the last 18 years, and the track record is dismal. Robert Nelson of Long Branch, NJ, say only 47 of the prognostications were right on the money. Nearly half of those came from just six people--but even they had a success rate of less than eight percent. Nelson says his original intention was to set up a kind of "early-warning" system for potential disasters. But he says he hasn't found anyone whose predictions are reliable enough. Still, he plans to keep on trying. As he puts it: "you never know."

The Southern Libertarian Messenger quotes Soviet planner Igor Birman as having said, "If the Soviet Union continues as it has for the last 23 years, it will catch up to the US 1976 level in fruit in 62 years, 74 years in meat, 142 years in housing, 176 years in autos, 188 years in phones and 298 years in roads."

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THE REVIEW BOOKSHELF

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DC BOOKSHELF

THE VIEW FROM RAPPAHANNOCK. By Eugene J. McCarthy. Piedmonth Virginia where the former Senator and regular contributor to the Review now parks his boots -- and writes about them -- is fine country to reflect in. His corner of it, Rappahannock County, is about as remote as you can get and still be near some place (Washington, DC). Close up to the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge Mountains, Rappahannock County has no towns of consequence, no industry, no important civic monuments and very few people. It's delightful country. McCarthy loves it, and readers will share his affection. Generation of British essayists have written to us about their dogs; junting wild mushrooms; the weather; the poetry of living in cranky old houses. McCarthy scratches his dog as they did; lives in one of their houses. His vignettes are a perfect meal. There aren't too many, they are perfectly seasoned, and an hour later you're hungry for more. $9.95.

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